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H. A. REINHOLD **TOWARD CHRISTIAN UNITY**

THEODORE MAYNARD
PHILIP DRISCOLL
PHILIP BURNHAM

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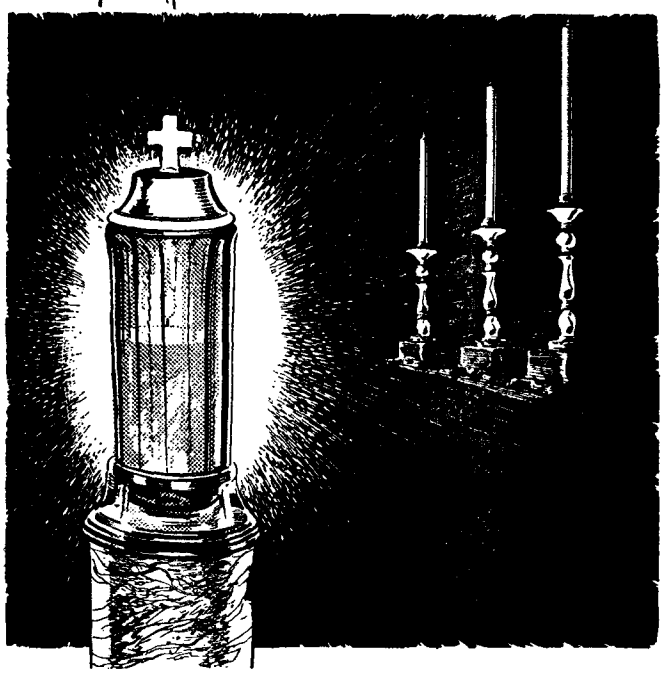

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THE Commonweal

week by week

THE ANTI ANTI-COMMUNISTS

SEVERAL weeks ago a film commentator widely syndicated in the Catholic press discussed the controversy over a recent anti-Communist movie. He reported that the widely adverse criticism leveled at this picture had delighted Hollywood's "anti anti-Communists," and that these groups had taken particular glee in citing the unfavorable remarks which two Catholic publications, *America* and The Commonweal, had made about the film. He ended on the "now is the time for all good men" theme, admonishing his readers to "promote good Catholic Action" by giving the film their strong support.

The columnist's implications were clear: when the chips are down, all men must stand up and be counted. This film was anti-Communist. Ergo, those who opposed it, including the two Catholic publications, had aided the *anti* anti-Communists. Ergo, they had given comfort to the enemy.

This argument that one lends himself to the service of the Communist cause by criticizing any individual or group devoted to an anti-Communist crusade undoubtedly moves many to support public movements which in calmer times they would deplore. Senator McCarthy's favorite comeback to any criticism of his methods is his contention that to oppose him is to follow the Communist party-line. He apparently thinks that this is sufficient to dispose of any critic, and he seems to have convinced millions of his fellow citizens that to be anti-Communist is to be pro-McCarthy. Convinced of this, they tend to see anti-McCarthyism as a subtle sell-out to pro-Communism.

The frequently heard line of reasoning here is that in a time of crisis one cannot quibble over means. "When our house is burning down we don't ask whether the fireman belongs to the union. The only important thing is that he fight the fire." Therefore, to refuse the help of any hard-hitting comrade-in-arms in the fight against world Communism merely because one objects to his methods is to fall into the worst kind of liberal sentimentality.

Compelling as this argument may seem, there are several things wrong with it. For one thing, it rests on an immoral basis. For another, it is essentially naive. And it is, eventually, self-defeating.

The argument has an immoral basis because it must assume that if an end be just, then any means employed in attaining it need not be questioned. Of the end in view here, the defeat of the Communist conspiracy against the human spirit, there can indeed be no question, no "middle-ground." The most virulent anti-Communist is surely correct in regarding those who obstinately continue to underestimate the conspiracy as either blind or subverted. But there are forces on the American scene who would use the reality of this threat to justify any means used in combating it. One who therefore opposes a certain type of anti-Communism on the grounds of the immorality of its means, may well find himself, in this instance, in tune with the party-line. But this is completely beside the point. It in no way lessens the obligation to oppose morally or prudentially objectionable means even when they are used toward a legitimate end.

TO believe that there is some magical efficacy in the mere fact of opposition, apart from a consideration of motives and methods, is something about which history should have taught us many tragic lessions. It is essentially naive to think that the most vociferous and "hard-hitting" opposition is a necessarily effective opposition. A foolish or malicious ally can be as dangerous to a cause as any foe, and not all who cry their hatred of Marx from the housetops are qualified to lead us toward national salvation.

And it may be true, as some defenders of all manifestations of anti-Communism claim, that when our house is on fire, we don't ask if the fireman belongs to the union—but we do have a right to expect that he knows how to put out a fire. If we find that in his zeal he is in reality spreading it, and, in

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the doing, destroying the things previously unhurt, then we have some reason to call him off. Legislators, or movements, or films, which, in the pursuit of their anti-Communist zeal, confuse issues, slander the innocent, and destroy civil freedom, must end by defeating themselves.

Abstractly, the question of anti-Communism *is* an absolutely clear-cut one. The neutralist is an anomaly in our times. But in the concrete order there are ways and there are ways of being anti-Communist. The attempt to identify the fight for the world's future with any particular brand of anti-Communism, and consequently to label any who may oppose it as "anti anti-Communist" is a betrayal of everything we are supposed to stand for, because to do so shows a mentality not very distantly related to what it so vigorously opposes.

UN SOCIAL AGENCIES

SINCE Christians comprise a minority in the world, it appears that in public affairs they have two alternatives. Either they can leave all such matters to others or seek to play a part commensurate and appropriate to their beliefs. Such is the choice confronting believing citizens in regard to the day-to-day course of most local communities, of a country like the United States or of the United Nations.

To refuse to take responsibilities in political and social matters, on the grounds that they are not ordinarily conducted according to specifically Christian principles, would seem to reflect an unChristian contempt for the world. It amounts to "abandoning the world" in anything but the traditional meaning of that phrase.

Yet there is a growing impression that Catholics are imbued with just such pessimism about their environment. The frequency with which secular institutions and professions are tarred with "godlessness" from the pulpit provides one source for this impression. Another is the apparently conscious effort on the part of someone on the New York *Times* to dig up instances of such a viewpoint and inflate them all out of due proportion.

The most recent instance of the latter, June 22, has to do with the United Nations. The critic is a Father André Rétif, S. J., of the staff of *Etudes*, a monthly published in Paris. The *Times* quotes his adverse criticisms and slants its headline but leaves out altogether Father Rétif's plea to Catholics to "interest themselves in all phases of the activity of these international organisms."

Father Rétif does criticize UNESCO and the World Health Organization, both of which he roundly accuses of materialistic principles. UNESCO he finds "strongly marked by Anglo-Saxon pragmatism and relativism, by Latin laicism, by an Oriental tendency to syncretism and by anti-Catholic poison of the enemies of the Church." In the World Health Organization "too many experts or directors have uncertain, or erroneous, concepts."

Obviously leaders like Julian Huxley or Jaime Torres Bodet do not approach things from a Christian point of view. Neither do many other committee members. There have been determined debates right along in New York, at Lake Success and other UN meeting places. Yet each Christian delegate has the opportunity to speak his piece, to vote according to his beliefs. In recent months several touchy issues have arisen—which should hardly seem surprising. It was but a month ago that the World Health Organization abandoned certain birth control provisions because of internal opposition.

But what unhappily fails to make the headlines is the fact that UN agencies and a number of religious agencies have been working hand in hand. Individual Protestant and Catholic missionaries and various private relief organizations are able to accomplish more for their charges because of the existence of the United Nations. Conversely, UN representives in the field—in South Korea, the Middle East and elsewhere—have come to look upon many of the missioners as their natural co-workers and allies.

To give the impression that Catholics intend to stand aside and condemn the UN and its works out of hand is misleading. Human needs in a pluralistic world call for pluralistic solutions. Christians who work alongside unbelievers for the rehabilitation of

NEXT WEEK

R. L. BRUCKBERGER, O.P., tells of his relationship with a follower of Pétain.

"I first met Joseph Darnand during the war, when he was a lieutenant of the Commando Corps to which I had myself transferred. I have recounted elsewhere his heroic conduct during the war, his passionate love of his country, his bitterness over the fall of France; then his growing confidence in the future and his honest belief, at last, that the future of France lay with Pétain, whose influence over him had become very great.Darnand's collaborationism was born of his spirit of military discipline and of his respect for Pétain as a military leader. In May of 1941, Darnand and I parted company . . . I was a member of the Resistance. He was becoming a collaborationist."

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the world, and some of its most devastated regions, have an unparalleled opportunity to gain a wider hearing for the principles which spur them on. They are also able to bear witness by the power of their example. Naturally such Christians will encounter situations where they will have to stand firm for their beliefs.

As a reflection of the world in which we live the United Nations gives expression to a wide range of divergent views—including those that are clearly hostile to Christian concepts. Why should Catholics, for one, be disdainful of the opportunities the UN affords to bring their own views and their own qualities into the picture?

TAFT-HARTLEY AND STEEL

THE fact that the labor movement is bitterly opposed to the Taft-Hartley Act should come as a surprise to no one. Labor has never had a friendly press in this country, and for this and other reasons is never prone to understatement. In the case of the Taft-Hartley law the union campaign of opposition was carried on at the pitch of the outraged roar. Taking a leaf out of industry's book, the labor unions took big newspaper advertisements all over the country to get their message across. In them the measure was described as a slave labor law, and just to make sure that everyone got the point, the ads were illustrated by drawings which depicted American labor weighed down by Taft-Hartley chains. Despite these efforts, the bill became law.

Labor had good reason to fight the Taft-Hartley proposals. Whether intentionally or not, it is quite true that the spirit of the law is genuinely antagonistic to labor's interests, and although the full weight of the measure has not yet been felt, some of its provisions are likely to do real damage to unions in any future recession. But it seems dubious that campaigns like the one waged by labor in this case do much good.

The law in question is poor legislation, and it badly needs repeal or drastic revision. But it is obviously not a slave labor law, and in fighting the measure labor's use of such purple prose may actually have hurt its own case with the average non-union citizen.

One example of the way in which such exaggeration can backfire may be seen in the current discussions of the steel crisis. The average citizen today appears to have a very mistaken idea of what the Taft-Hartley law can do in national emergency strikes. In fact, there is nothing particularly distinguished about the emergency provisions of the law, and there is little reason to believe that invoking it would increase the chances for a speedy settlement in steel. But most discussions start with the general assumption that the Taft-Hartley law would solve the whole problem, if only President Truman would deign to use it. It does not seem at all far-fetched to attribute a good part of the exaggerated notions of what the Taft-Hartley law can do to the overstatement and vehemence of organized labor's original campaign against it.

The emergency procedure under the Taft-Hartley law calls for the appointment by the President of a board of inquiry. This board is completely without power to make recommendations; it is simply supposed to report the facts in the case. The President can then instruct the Attorney General to ask for an eighty-day injunction in a Federal court.

During this eighty-day period, working conditions remain unchanged, and the workers must remain on the job. After sixty days have passed, the workers vote by secret ballot on the employer's final offer. As it has worked out, this provision has the unintended effect of freezing collective bargaining at that point. If after eighty days the strike has not been settled by the parties concerned, the workers are free to continue their strike without further fear of Federal injunction.

There are no provisions for seizure of affected plants in the Taft-Hartley law. Senator Taft himself recognized this weakness in his bill several years ago, and he was at that time ready to support changes to provide for seizure when that was necessary for national safety. But these changes were not made, and as the law now stands, there are no provisions for dealing with national emergency strikes beyond the eighty-day injunction clause.

The Taft-Hartley law cannot solve the crisis in steel, a fact which only underlines our need for adequate and equitable labor legislation. Why so many people in high places talk as if invoking the law would do more than defer the crisis until next fall can probably only be explained in terms of election year politics or lack of familiarity with the law itself.

THE PROSPECT IN KOREA

THE war in Korea is more than two years old, the truce talks have been going on for more than one year, and still there is no end in sight. There appear to be three general possibilities open to us. The UN could, first of all, withdraw entirely from Korea. But withdrawal would violate our pledged word to the Korean people, it would announce to the world that we have abandoned our determination to resist aggression, and it would imperil our

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national defense line in the Pacific, especially our forces in Japan. Abandoning Korea is not the answer.

The second possibility, and one that is often mentioned, is that we wage all-out war. Such action would involve direct attack upon China. This course is also impossible. We do not now have available sufficient force to carry out such a campaign. Even if we were strong enough, the real danger exists that such a move would touch off the world-wide war we are trying to avoid. Finally, there is real doubt that the potential gains from a new offensive would justify the casualties sure to follow such an assault against a now well-entrenched enemy.

The third possibility involves limiting and localizing the war as far as possible. This is the course of action we are following, and in view of the present world situation and our own lack of strength to back up our international commitments, it seems to be the only practical course open to us.

Even though everyone would be happy to see a truce in Korea, it is still a mistake to talk as if such a peace treaty would spell the end to our problems with Communism in Asia. Instead there is a very good chance that a truce in Korea now would merely release Communist troops for further aggressive adventures in Indochina or elsewhere. Whatever the outcome of the truce negotiations, the larger struggle in which we are engaged will not be settled in the peace tents at Panmunjom. Whether we like it or not, it is clear that Americans are going to have to live with on-again, off-again crises of one sort or another for many years to come.

THE USES OF HATE

EVEN here, among Americans, there are many different Americas. It depends on what paper you read. In slick-magazine fiction America is a thoroughly sunny, uncomplicated place, a suburban paradise peopled with smooth, elegant, handsome young people with just enough wiser old heads around to keep youth's financial needs from becoming a problem. In this America the only real problems are amorous; there are no racial hatreds, no capital-labor strife, no poverty, no slums, no malnutrition, no corruption or vice. God's in His heaven and all's well with the country He calls His own.

At the other extreme is the America of the *Daily Worker,* a place seething with discontent, full of racial injustices and social inequities—a land of arrogant generals, crypto-fascist businessmen, warmongering politicians, prostitute journalists and hypocritical clerics, bent on exploiting the all-virtuous proletarian classes.

In between are the other private Americas: the land of Senator Joe McCarthy where a small clique of traitors and Communists in high places is leading inarticulate, only half-aroused masses down the road to Soviet slavery. There is the America of Lait and Mortimer, a continental network of Sodoms and Gomorrahs. The America of the four-color ads is a land where apple pie, chlorophyll, 24-inch screens and shiny convertibles summarize the peak of cultural achievement, and stand as tangible proof that virtue is richly rewarded.

Each of these one-sided pictures of the United States bears witness to at least one true aspect of this many-sided nation. But no one of them can stand alone. To judge ourselves by any of these reflections is like standing before a Coney Island mirror.

Abroad, the mirrors' reflections of America are even more distorted and one-sided. But within recent weeks there has been a concentrated effort in the USSR to create only one America—a despicable, blood-thirsty place: a nation bent on subjecting all others, governed by a monstrous alliance of wicked men who have the complete backing of a thoroughly corrupted people.

The Soviet rulers have not exactly been flattering this nation in their official propaganda, for several years now. But this stepped-up hate-America campaign goes further than previous efforts. The usual distinction between U. S. "leaders" and "the people" is no longer being made. To hate America now clearly means to hate Americans. And the United States has been isolated from her allies for this latest hate treatment. Britain formerly shared equally in the vilification coming from Moscow.

The new propaganda barrage is being aimed directly at the Russian people themselves, and that is disturbingly significant. In the past anti-American propaganda was meant largely for those nations outside the Soviet who might be tempted to dally with the leaders of the West. Now the character-assassination campaign seems meant to bring anti-American feelings among the people of Russia to the boiling point. No charge against the U. S. is considered too exaggerated for popular credence. The most virulent Soviet propaganda against Hitler during the war years has been exceeded.

Any hate campaign, as the Soviets surely know, is a dangerous business. Emotions, especially mass emotions, can not be turned off and on at will. The present campaign must be designed with some long-range plan in view. Just what is not yet clear. It is to be hoped that it is not a psychological preparation for a U. S.-Soviet war. But certainly it gives another example of how little sincerity there is in the Soviet's present peace campaign abroad.

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Bevan vs. Bevanism

"HE WALKS THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE AS AN INTOLERABLE BUT INDISPENSABLE THROWBACK, A GIANT FROM THE AGE OF THE BARRICADES"

GEOFFREY ASHE

THE French Socialist leader, Jean Jaurès, once said: "Take from the altars of the past the fire, not the ashes." Two men in the British Parliament have carried that principle to extremes. Aneurin Bevan, whatever else he does, remains traditionally the rival of Winston Churchill, and although nowadays he is much more, the old rivalry suggests a comparison which brings out the main truth about him.

Bevan is explosively archaic. Just as Churchill, in critics' eyes, draws his inspiration from a world of ideas which even the Conservative Party has left behind, so to many who contemplate him Bevan appears not merely antediluvian but practically pre-Adamite. In both cases the charge of anachronism is just, and in both cases it is perhaps complimentary. Like Churchill, Bevan walks the floor of the House as an intolerable but indispensable throwback, a giant from the age of the barricades.

How strong is he? Remarkably so. He can count on fifty MP's in any of his conflicts with Attlee short of a decisive breach. The vast Shop Workers' Union has virtually backed him; so has the Amalgamated Engineers' Union; and Gallup assures us that nearly half the organized workers would do the same. Surveys reveal a growing belief in his sincerity, and he has gained in popular respect.

Bevan's progress has undoubtedly been aided by dwindling of competition. Inflation, scarcity, and unemployment, now approaching the half million, are dealing terrible blows to what may still be politely spoken of as Conservative credit. But, on the other hand, within the Labor Party itself there is no semblance of a policy, apart from what Bevan and his friends can supply.

Events, therefore, demand that more attention be paid to the ideology which Bevan draws from the past. Certainly it is from the past that he draws it. He is haunted by such gentry as coal-owners and press magnates, though the coal-owners have been bought out and the press magnates have lost their influence. His America, similarly, is not the America of Truman, or even that of Roosevelt. Glancing over the Atlantic, he sees McCormick, and when not McCormick, MacArthur.

Mr. Ashe, a British journalist and literary critic, recently settled in Canada.

Thus he stands out, with a peculiar independence. He is one of the rare antique souls who can step back from the Welfare-State machine and survey it with a full consciousness—not a mere impression—of the half-forgotten radicalism that put it there. The spectacle excites him.

BEVAN'S personal creed (which is not the same as "Bevanism") has two fundamental articles: Proletarian Democracy and Proletarian Patriotism. Each may be defined after a fashion by three negations, and not much more narrowly than that.

Proletarian Democracy, to begin with, is not the neo-Marxism of the intellectuals. It is closer to human beings. One can tell something of Bevan from his harmonious marriage with Jennie Lee, who, in the 1940's, was almost the only left-wing columnist who ever deigned to discuss what actually went on in the homes of workers. Bevan, after all, was a miner himself, whereas the intellectuals are technically gentlemen.

Some critics have remarked on Bevan's indifference to religion. But this cuts both ways. The intellectuals are far from indifferent to religion; instead they detest it with a sickly and venomous detestation. For anyone of Christian belief, to pass from the *New Statesman* to Nye Bevan is to pass from a stink into an atmosphere that is at least breathable. He is indifferent to religion, but for that we should, in a sense, be grateful. The alternative is not Christianity; it is persecution.

Secondly, Proletarian Democracy must be distinguished from the Fabian doctrine of centralized managerialism. In control, it would not inaugurate a gradually extended grab by an Olympian clique of experts in the metropolis. This point is important. Thanks to the war-time bureaucracy and the efforts of Sir Stafford Cripps, Great Britain has been overshadowed for a long while by a terrible, anonymous "they." Socialism is commonly understood to mean a steady deepening of the shadow. "They" will order this, "they" will forbid that, and in the end "they" will own all and do all.

From about 1947 on, it was notable how this "they" psychology had got hold of people. If you bought bad

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coal or shoddy goods, if a roof leaked or a harvest failed, you blamed the Government. Whatever happened, "they" were answerable. Despite the propaganda of Socialists, "they" never came within miles of being "we."

Bevan speaks from a pre-"they" point of view. In organizing his Health Service he decentralized authority as much as he was able, and the enlarged nationalization which he certainly favors would lean strongly toward regionalization.

Lastly, Proletarian Democracy is not anti-parliamentary. It implies a realignment of the present political structure, conceived in the Keir Hardie spirit. It has no use for such pseudo-democratic devices as Sovietism and Syndicalism, but remains strictly democracy as the United Kingdom understands it. If it achieved its objects, the House of Lords would go—but the House of Lords is nearly powerless already. The Monarchy would stay —though less elaborately equipped. Supreme would be the House of Commons, constituted much as it is now, only controlled by the working class. It would execute its decisions through a very similar Civil Service, somewhat differently recruited, and through the State Boards for the nationalized industries, rendered more amenable to local pressure and pressure from below.

Until quite lately, such notions as these, whoever preached them, were commonly dismissed as absurd. Hardly anybody thought that in a country where they were not themselves an effective majority the proletarians, working through a majority system, could become absolute. But the situation has changed. Owing to inflation, taxation, housing shortage, and death duties, the old solid middle and upper classes are disintegrating. Foreigners have flowed in, savings have streamed out. The larger London houses are split up into offices and apartments. Even more deadly is the loss in morale. As the social crust crumbles, revolution easily assumes the guise of a logical and spiritual necessity.

This is not to say that the proletariat still has all the vigor and basic decency of fifty years back. Enough (rather more than enough) has been said about the gambling and irresponsibility of British workers. Nevertheless, there is an immense mass of splendid human material, to which the odor of bankruptcy is not yet clinging.

It has been my privilege to conduct one or two Labor Party discussion groups recruited from industrial England. The experience gave an insight into Bevan's propulsions which few of the journalists who expound him seem to possess. Here was life; here was strength; here was intelligence—and not intellectualism, but almost its opposite, a grasp on facts as distinct from a juggle with them. Bevan's romantic vision of a land governed by the best elements of its working class and by those prepared to follow their lead continues to be a vision worth dying for, when the programs of the realists are scarcely worth living for.

HOWEVER, in the world of Stalin a man is more likely to be called upon to die for quite different causes. That unhappy truth concentrates attention on Bevan's second great dogma, which I would call Proletarian Patriotism. As is well known, he wants a sort of Socialist Declaration of Independence. He thinks Britain, guided by her working-class chiefs, should reject the American-dominated NATO system and the accompanying armament program.

Here again the *via negativa* is the best method of approach. It is odd and suggestive, by the way, that a phrase from the vocabulary of mysticism should come so naturally to hand.

First, Bevan's dogma has little in common with the anti-American credo of the Communists. Behind the distinction there is the story of an earlier split, or rather sub-split, in the Labor ranks. When Ernest Bevin went to the Foreign Office in '45 and proclaimed his doctrine of continuity, a demand immediately arose from the Left for a Socialist foreign policy, which at first meant a pro-Communist policy. But from 1947 onwards, the leftist ideal tended towards neutralism and European federalism, and only a handful of politicians, such as Pritt, persisted in the earlier attitude. The diehard pro-Soviet group campaigned against the Marshall Plan and every kind of American link, demanding an economic re-orientation inseparable from alliance with Russia.

Bevan has never gone so far. He belongs with the moderate Leftists rather than the diehards. What he condemns is not the principle of the American link but the change in the nature of that link. The Marshall Plan was good, "defense support" is pernicious. An America committed to "defense support" is unfit for leadership. But this does not imply that Britain ought to accept the leadership of America's enemy.

Nor is the revolt against warlike preparation a form of pacifism. Several pacifists uphold Bevan, but he has altogether failed to return the compliment. Likewise, the recent action of the London University Union in carrying a pacifist resolution reflected a trend of thought quite alien to his, though incidentally helpful to his progress. He would still approve of war in a just cause, only so few causes are just. The causes of individual nations or their regimes, for instance, seldom appeal to him as adequate motives for belligerency.

And this emphasizes the third negation. Bevan's concept is not isolationist or narrowly nationalist. If it were, it would tend to overflow party limits. There are Britain First advocates on the Right—such as Andrew Fountaine, who has launched a freak movement called the National Front—but Bevan shows no interest in them. Bevan's foreign policy is bound up with his allegiance in politics. The attack on NATO follows from the proposition, unhappily true, that rearmament imposes a murderous burden upon the less privileged. His method of stopping Communism would be to abandon the

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defense program in favor of a new Marshall Plan for the backward areas of the world, inspired and officered by European Socialism under the leadership of the unburdened British workers. The moribundity of Socialism does not bother him at all. Antiquated in this respect as in others, he can still talk of it as a powerful, revolutionary, and essentially international force.

THESE definitions are extremely vague. But so is Bevan. He is a De Gaulle of the Left. But, less prudent than De Gaulle, he has tried to anatomize his dreams on the printed page, and he is one of those characters who are far more impressive in person than on paper. His book *In Place of Fear* (Simon and Schuster, $3.) is a jumble of notions, devitalized by toning-down and not very lucidly expressed, which can quite properly be called commonplace.

As a mystic, and specifically as a minority mystic, Bevan is obviously a godsend to democracy, since he can rally the disaffected who would otherwise embrace Communism. However, if he is to make headway he will have to lead a concerted movement. Bevanism will have to acquire a more precise meaning or it will sink back into pure negation, much as Trotskyism, after the death of Trotsky, decayed into a rather complicated method of grumbling. Here the trouble begins.

In the years of Coalition and Labor rule, Bevan showed both unmatched abilities and profound weaknesses. He proved, as Minister of Health, that he could handle a particular job like a virtuoso, and he displayed a more accurate insight into the implications of the arms program than Attlee or Churchill. But he never gave the slightest reason to think that he could frame or legislate or administer anything worth calling a national policy.

During this period, Bevan made remarks about the great questions of production and trade that were utterly absurd. He said, for example, that there was no need for an export drive, when manifestly the British people had to double their exports or live like coolies. As Prime Minister he would be urged, ultimately compelled, to rely on his supporters for the shaping of every concrete measure.

And these supporters (the able and active ones) are not like Bevan. In Parliament they are the intellectuals. In the unions they are the Communists. Bevan's voice could never be the voice of effective Bevanism. The interpreters who have construed him as an apostle of the Marxist State have been, I think, inaccurate as to the man himself but entirely correct as to the probable outcome of his efforts.

Concerning the Communists it will not here be necessary to speak, beyond observing that the current "peace" line is the first maneuver of theirs which has ever approached a correspondence to the real sentiments of the English masses. Their influence may thus become great even though party membership stays negligible.

As for the leftist intellectuals—those energetic Mikardos and Crossmans associated with the *New Statesman* and the Fabian group—they are "doublethinkers" practically without exception. They will use Bevan for their own ends, while enjoying a serene consciousness of loyalty to him. Practically without exception also, they come from the dominant professional classes and show a somewhat too noticeable urge toward self-perpetuation in that status. They, the educated, the experts, have decided quite sincerely that something must be done for the workers—with the corollary that they, the educated, the experts, must remain in power in order to do it.

THE persons who would control Bevanite policy have an altogether different political outlook from their leader. They accept the parliamentary system, but as a governor rather than a driving force. Their object is to build Socialism—doctrinaire, managerial, monopolistic. Elections are primarily a guide as to how much the people will stand for at a given moment, and the main job of the statesman is to work out ingenious ways of justifying the next installment. To compare the leftists' private utterances with their public ones is to stray into a nightmare world of equivocation, with landmarks alternately planted and uprooted, with everything liable to abolition in the name of something else, and with nothing authentically secure.

An analysis of their opinions conjures up an image of the abolishment of the House of Lords by future ministers in the name of democracy, and then the elimination of democracy in the name of progress; grabbing one industry because it makes a profit, and another because it doesn't; suppressing cathedrals because they obstruct traffic, villages because they get in the way of hydroelectric schemes, craftsmen because they work too slowly, and Irishmen because they breed too quickly. The Monarchy? The gentlemen of the Left will abolish the Monarchy when they can swing the electorate. Until then, they will no more hint at the idea in public than Winston Churchill does.

What Bevan would put in place of fear has no ultimate relevance. The question is: what would his advisers put in place of England? Their dismal empire of concrete and contraception seems at present to be the logical end of Bevanism—that, or the outright supremacy of Moscow. It is a pity. To those of us who are otherwise committed, Bevan is necessarily an enemy.

But he is a very fine enemy, one to whom we may with a fair conscience wish every good the world has to offer. Except success.

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Steel and The Just Profit

IN the May 2 issue of The Commonweal I accused the steel companies of "conning the American public with phony profit figures to create the impression they are just getting by, when the truth is that they are making a killing." In trying to document the accusation I strayed somewhat from the beam. And the readers, as then say in the *ateliers de jazz,* made me know it. But the accusation still stands.

The "phony profit figures" are the figures given out by the steel companies which estimate profit as a percentage of sales. For example, U.S. Steel 5.2% in 1951, Youngstown 6.3%, Inland Steel 6.6%.

The American public has the idea that 6% is a reasonable profit. But the point is this: the 6% that the American public is thinking about in its half baked way is 6% return on investment, or net worth, not 6% of sales.

Percentage of sales has no meaning as a fair and accurate measure of profits. For example, take a retail business with a large turnover and a small capital investment. Profit as a percentage of sales could be 1 or 2%, but as a percentage of investment it might be 50%. On the other hand, a business with low sales volume and a high captial investment might be making 10% of sales and only 6% of invested funds. It all depends on the nature of the business.

Usually, however, profit as a percentage of sales is less than profit as a percentage of investment or net worth. That is why all these companies are using it, or have been for about the past ten years, ever since it became important to persuade their workers and the public that really, fellows, we aren't making much money. And it's a con game, strictly a con game, nothing else.

U. S. Steel's profit during 1951 was not 5.2% but 9.9%. Youngstown's profit was not 6.3% but 10.8%. Inland's profit was not 6.6% but 16%. (Source: Federal Trade Commission. Critical readers please note.) For the top ten steel companies, profit as a percentage of sales averaged 6.2, whereas figured as a percentage of net worth it was almost twice that, namely, 11.5. All this, of course, is after taxes and in a time of war when all of us are supposed to be making some sacrifice for "the boys in Korea." By way of comparison we might note that even in a good year like 1946 the same companies' profit *before taxes* was only 10.1%. In 1951 the profit before taxes was 31.3%.

Speaking of the boys in Korea, I ran into a choice bit from a speech on the floor of the Senate by Senator Wayne Morse, Republican of Oregon. This was on April 10, the day after E. Clarence Randall, president of Inland Steel, made his historic speech on radio and television in which he blasted the President of the United States. I quote Senator Morse:

"He (Mr. Randall) asked the emotional question: 'Is your boy making $1.70 an hour in Korea?' I have heard lows in demagoguery, but that is about as cheap a specimen as I ever heard . . . Of course, he did not point out that a good many of the steel executives get from $100,000 to $200,000 a year. He did not tell the mothers and fathers that in 1951 Benjamin Fairless, president of U. S. Steel, took a $47,000 salary increase and now draws in the neighborhood of $261,000. . . . He overlooked telling the mothers and fathers that E. Clarence Randall is reported to be receiving around $105,000 a year."

There is one thing Senator Morse did not tell them. During 1951, while Mr. Fairless was taking a 22% raise, the steelworkers received no increases at all.

THERE is another thing about steel profits that bears notice. According to the Iron and Steel Institute (*N. Y. Times* April 13, 1952) forty-nine steel companies, representing 92% of ingot production, took in $667,693,527 in total profit after taxes. We are heading into a mess of figures here, but stick with us, because this is interesting. Of this, less than half—some $307 million—was paid out in dividends. The rest was plowed back into these forty-nine companies, thereby increasing the net worth and lowering the profit percentage in future years.

For example, for 1951 the common and preferred stock of these companies was listed as a little over $2½ billion. Based on this the profit after taxes was 26.5% of investment. But the earned surplus accumulated in past years as the result of plowing profits back into the business amounted to nearly $3 billion, or a good bit more than the total value of the stock. The net worth—that is, stock plus capital surplus and earned surplus—was a little under $6 billion. Taken as a percentage of that figure the net profit is only 11.1%.

Mr. Randall said the average steel wage was $1.70 an hour. That means $68 for a 40-hour week. The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that, as of last November, a city worker in America needed about $80 a week to support himself, a wife and two children in reasonable comfort, without any other savings than life insurance.

Since 1945, according to the BLS, the steel worker's hourly rate has gone up 61%. Thanks to a strong union he is ahead of the cost of living, but not much. The steel industry's profits, on the other hand, have risen 219%

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in the same period. Before taxes, 509%. Who is contributing what to inflation—and the continuing steel crisis —shines forth pretty clearly in these figures.

One of my friends who read that first column wrote me an interesting letter. He is an executive in a fairly large corporation, a Catholic, an honest man, intelligent and idealistic. I accused him of not believing in the concept of a just profit or a just price. I said that if neither could be determined, then the Church has been talking through its tiara for lo, these many centuries. He wrote back:

"Is it possible to determine objectively what constitutes a just price or a just profit? In my opinion, clearly no . . . In present American society the question is really out of context. We depend on profit to motor a competitive economy. We believe that free competition will ultimately produce the lowest possible prices."

I must confess that here my friend surprised me. Surely he must have heard of "administered prices" and how the Big Threes and Big Fours in industry after industry get together and fix prices, throwing the shiv into free competition. But to continue:

"Once we start talking about 'just' prices and 'just' profits we necessarily assume a different kind of society, a kind of large cooperative, rigidly controlled from above by some powerful, dogmatic and all-knowing government with OPS yardsticks of justice in the economic order. . . .

"I do think the Church is talking through its tiara when it seeks to propagate the organizational form envisaged by the great encyclicals. Modern man is the raw material with which we must work in building modern society. By and large, whether rich or poor, he is agnostic, materialistic, grasping, selfish, ignorant, unenlightened, belligerent and lazy—even as, on most counts, you and I. Justice he hungers for, but always from the receiving end. Compassion and brotherly love are things which he applies, if at all, in purely private situations among friends and relatives. . . .

"Of course the moral principles animating the encyclicals are sound, but no practical policy can be superior to the factual assumptions upon which it rests. If they are unsound, the policy is interesting but irrelevant. The unarticulated major premise of the encyclicals is, in my opinion, a pious pre-conception with no relation whatever to the facts of modern social psychology."

HERE we have a policy of drift and despair which purports to be based on realism, but actually stems from the most naive of faiths, namely, that free competition exists. Perhaps we cannot determine exactly what a just profit is in any given situation, but I think we can usually determine what it is not, and I believe that the figures given in the first part of this column show what it is not in the case of the steel industry.

Free competition is a dream. That is basic. There are a few areas of our economy where it operates in more or less limited form. But in the big determining areas the "vast power centers," which my friend fears from an organized economy like that envisioned by the Popes, already exist. And the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice can do nothing about them. The steel industry is one of these areas. And the name of the power center is the Iron and Steel Institute, and the major stockholder in it is U. S. Steel. Bishop Haas put it more politely in *Man and Society* when he wrote: "U. S. Steel has been called the 'bell-wether' for the reason that when it sets its prices for steel, other producers follow." And the Bishop might have added, "Or else."

No, my friend, it is not the Popes who are unrealistic, but you. The Popes know very well how selfish and grasping is modern man. And that is precisely why they propose an order of economic society which will prevent him from devouring his fellows through the extortion of unjust profits, which have been reaped by means of rigged, fixed, uncompetitive prices.

JOHN C. CORT.

THE SCREEN

A PSYCHO IS IN THE STREETS

ONE who takes his movies seriously these days is likely to think that our streets are crawling with psychopaths out to do the public no good. The Hollywood remake of the old German film "M" last year was followed this year by "The Sniper," in which copper Adolphe Menjou finally tracked down a young man who shot women whose morals he questioned. The latest addition to this mad cycle is "Without Warning," which is about a gardener who uses garden shears to stab his victims—all of whom are blond, married women under thirty years of age.

Although "Without Warning" is pretty unpleasant to watch, the picture does have points in its favor: it was expertly photographed in and around Los Angeles; its script by Bill Raynor is well written; the cast, led by Adam Williams as the killer, has no big-star names but turns in a series of solid, realistic performances. Furthermore, Director Arnold Laven has been quite successful in adding suspense to the realism, particularly in the last half of the film when the police get more and more clues and throw out a trap to catch the murderer.

Like its predecessors, "Without Warning" emphasizes that there "never was a good short cut to catching a killer." We see the police expending great effort on this man hunt. We see the psychiatrist and laboratory

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technicians in action. Some of the best shots show a group of blond policewomen on the job hoping to be picked up by the killer who is established as a paranoiac with brains as well as criminal tendencies. Unfortunately the script largely fails to explain how this man got the way he is. Instead the picture gives us several scenes of murder that are too graphic in their detail. And you're likely to come away from "Without Warning" with a so-what feeling, wondering if this sensational theme was worth doing so well.

THERE are times when "Beware, My Lovely" may remind you of "Kind Lady." It is the story of a woman who is held prisoner in her own house. The captor in this case is a psychopathic handyman who bears a grudge against the Army for rejecting him as emotionally unstable. He can clean house fine—but he also gets lapses of memory and has fits of violence that lead to murder. He admits: "I work very hard and I get paid; but most people have me only once—at best twice."

Of course when Robert Ryan, as the insane man, applies for work at the house of Ida Lupino, a widow who plans to houseclean at Christmas time because her only boarder is away, he doesn't tell her that he might murder her when he finishes polishing the floors, but you who have been forewarned are expecting the worst. Although "Beware, My Lovely" is too short and slight, Harry Horner's direction of the script, written by Mel Dinelli from his own play "The Man," is quite effective and frequently throws you into a cold sweat of suspense; Ryan gets convincingly mad and violent; and Miss Lupino is realistically terrified. But the whole adds up to little more than an exercise in thrills.

ALTHOUGH he is definitely neurotic there is nothing homicidal about the leading character in "Glory Alley." The behavior of this young man, well played by Ralph Meeker, is strange—to put it mildly. After training for seven years, he walks out of the ring one night and refuses to fight again. Furthermore, he keeps his hat on all the time. Of course this alone wouldn't label him as neurotic, but he does several other anti-social things. So many in fact that you begin to wonder why Leslie Caron loves him so much and continues to care for him while he goes on breaking the rules not only of Emily Post but also of common decency.

This "arty" movie about a street in New Orleans is full of peculiarities that make you wonder what it's all leading up to. Its prologue states that "if you look hard enough you'll find more beauty and sensitivity here than anywhere else." I looked, but found the beauty and sensitivity a little difficult to find. Miss Caron's dancing is indeed good—although a little too good for Glory Alley and a little too sexy for good taste. Louis Armstrong and Jack Teagarden blow some mean trumpets. And Kurt Kasznar, as Miss Caron's blind grandfather, spouts a lot of phoney philosophy that is supposed to give the picture a high tone but only makes the script by Art Cohn a little more ridiculous. The best performance is turned in by Gilbert Roland as Meeker's promoter and friend, and it has a simple sincerity that is almost out of place in all this guff. I suppose Director Raoul Walsh really tried to fashion all this into a movie, but he was handicapped from the start. Not even the psychological explanation for Meeker's idiosyncrasies, which comes near the finale, straightens things out much. Perhaps the clue to "Glory Alley" is in Louis Armstrong's song celebrating this place and its "faded dreamers and jaded schemers."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"THE JUDGES AND THE JUDGED"

New York, N.Y.

TO the Editors: In fairness, may I reply to the attack by James M. O'Neill, for many years an active member of the ACLU, on the anti-Communist newsletter *Counterattack* and on *Red Channels*. The attack was made in Mr. O'Neill's review of the book sponsored by ACLU, *The Judges and the Judged* by Merle Miller. The review was captioned "Trial by Hearsay, Judgment by Rumor," which is an accurate description of *The Judges and the Judged*.

As an officer and founder of the organization which publishes *Counterattack* and *Red Channels*, I have devoted much of my time and effort to exposing the Communist conspiracy now warring against us in Asia and Europe, and maintaining agents and dupes in espionage and subversive activities within our borders.

Mr. O'Neill writes that the concern of *The Judges and the Judged* "is with the terrifying fact that a private individual or corporation can, on the basis of some anonymous report of Communist sympathy on the part of Mr. X, deprive Mr. X of his opportunity to earn his living in his chosen profession." The ACLU book makes not a single charge that Mr. X or anyone else has been deprived of his livelihood by any "anonymous report of Communist sympathy."

The ACLU book's basic purpose is to support the proposition that "Radio-television actors, writers, et al, should be tested for employment by the single standard of competent performance, as long as their acts and associations are lawful ones" (p. 23, *The Judges and*

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the Judged). Thus, according to ACLU, a radio employer, whose son had been murdered while a prisoner in Korea, would have no right to refuse to employ a competent actor or writer supporting a Communist front spreading false rumors that our Army in Korea tortured prisoners, because the actor or writer broke no law.

This absurd proposition, if adhered to, would prevent an employer from agreeing not to hire non-union actors, for this would be applying a test other than that of "competent performance" and whether his "acts and associations were legal ones."

Mr. O'Neill does not even state the basic position of the book he reviewed.

The publishers of *Counterattack* and *Red Channels* disagree with this position. Because they disagreed, they made public in *Red Channels* the names and activities of many television and radio personalities who publicly supported Communist fronts and by this support endangered and injured our national welfare.

Red Channels was published to stop this danger and injury by calling public attention to the large number of radio and television personalities who were acting in this fashion and causing this danger and injury. The danger and injury were caused by their acts even if some of the actors did not realize that fact. Their ignorance of the injury they caused gave them no special right of privacy for their acts, anymore than ignorance of the nature of malaria gives a carrier of the disease the right to continue to spread it.

Mr. O'Neill says that his review was written: "in the confident assumption that Mr. Miller's investigation was competently and conscientiously done and his report accurately written."

It is well that he never reviewed Paul Blanshard's book *American Freedom and Catholic Power* using the same "confident assumption."

The review says that: " . . . . . all the quotations used by Mr. Miller in this book . . . . . are specifically documented . . . . . "

This is an explicit misstatement. Of the 257 persons quoted in the book, 121 are anonymous. To state that quotations from anonymous persons are "specifically documented" is to state what is false.

Fulton Lewis Jr., whom the ACLU book purports to quote, said in a radio broadcast on June 3, 1952: "I am quoted in that book and I am very badly misquoted, my remarks completely twisted and taken out of context."

Mr. O'Neill's gross second misstatement follows: "One of the things that *Red Channels* has taken as an indication of subversive activity is that the actor has worked for 'current Communist movements' such as for instance, 'academic freedom,' 'civil rights,' 'peace' and the 'H-bomb.' "

Red Channels has never taken activities in support of academic freedom, in support of civil rights, in support of peace, or in connection with the H-bomb as indication of subversive activity. *Red Channels* has taken as indication of subversive activity, activities of a person under the sponsorship and leadership of professed Communist or Communist fronters, ostensibly in connection with such causes, but in reality designed to advance Communist ends. *Red Channels* says:

> It is no wonder, then, that Party organizers, double and redouble their efforts to spawn front organizations, rallies, 'benefits' and committees for this and that. No cause which seems calculated to arouse support among people in show business is ignored: the overthrow of the Franco dictatorship, the fight against anti-Semitism, and Jim Crow, civil rights, world peace, the outlawing of the H-bomb, are all used. Around such pretended objectives, the hard core of Party organizers gather a swarm of 'reliables' and well-intentioned 'liberals,' to exploit their names and their energies." (*Red Channels,* pages 3 and 4).

Merlyn S. Pitzele, a Director of ACLU, the book's sponsor, and a Labor Editor of *Business Week,* in his review of *The Judges and the Judged* pointed out a third misstatement. He says:

> One of the most serious charges that ACLU makes against *Red Channels* is that the compromising associations given for those listed are not recent, the implication being that until 1945 we were allied with Russia in fighting Hitler and many innocents were sucked into joining Communist or Communist dominated organizations. The report states: "One actor's most recent listing was 1938; many had no listing after 1941; a sizable minority, none after 1945."
>
> The truth is that every name in *Red Channels* has a listing after 1938. The 'many' with no listing after 1941 amount to exactly three. The 'sizable minority' with none after 1945 amount to just two more. For 1946, 11 of those named have listings; for 1947, 17; for 1948, 24; for 1949, 74; and for 1950, in April of which year *Red Channels* went to the printers, there are 19 listings.
>
> That statement appears to be a whole lie.

Mr. O'Neill completely disregarded the following facts essential to a fair review of an attack on *Red Channels.*

Red Channels lists 151 persons prominent in radio and television, with 1396 instances of their affiliation with subversive organizations and activities. The sources of this information were 1080 references to official governmental reports (e.g. reports of the Attorney General, Congressional and legislative committees) and 316 references to private publications. *Red Channels* discloses all its sources accurately.

Red Channels also lists 126 subversive organizations

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and activities with which the individuals were affiliated. 116 of these 126 organizations and activities were declared subversive by governmental reports and 8 by private publications.

Red Channels also lists 19 publications as subversive, 18 of them governmentally reported and 1 privately reported as such.

A dangerous confusion spread by *The Judges and the Judged,* and suppressed or missed by the reviewer, is seen in the following quotation from the ACLU book:

> The basic question is whether in a free society employers in radio and television or in any other industry not declared 'sensitive' do in fact have 'the right and duty to consider the political ideologies' —past or present—of those they hire. It is whether a network or an independent station or, for that matter, a factory manufacturing M-1 rifles is upholding or traducing the democratic tradition by requiring its employees to sign a 'loyalty statement' or 'oath.' It is whether any non-governmental employer has the right to decide who among his employees is a good American and who is not. It is whether a man's political beliefs are now to determine if he can continue to work at his chosen profession. It is whether a man's political beliefs are no longer to be considered a private matter. (pages 214-215)

That paragraph confuses by using the words "political ideologies" and "political beliefs" to describe the things that *Red Channels* pointed out. No one was listed in *Red Channels* because of his or her "political ideologies" or "political beliefs." People were listed for their acts, not their beliefs. They were listed for supporting, sponsoring, entertaining and joining Communist front organizations. These acts helped the Communist conspiracy and thus injured and endangered the national welfare. *Red Channels* is an attempt to avert this danger and injury by exposing it.

Thus when the author of the ACLU book substituted such words as "political ideologies" and "political beliefs" for a true description of what the controversy is about, i.e. subversive acts of people, he succeeded only in confusing the issue, which relates to acts people performed, not beliefs they held, and the confusion always benefits the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. O'Neill's review missed this important point completely.

We are willing to rest our position upon the following quotation from Mr. O'Neill's review:

> Unless Mr. Miller's book is almost totally fraudulent, the 'FACTS' that *Counterattack* and *Red Channels* have stuck to in case after case is the fact that the individual victim has been "reported as" a Communist or Communist Fronter.

The facts that *Red Channels* has "stuck to" in case after case, are the facts that the persons referred to were reported by governmental agencies in 1080 instances, as belonging to named organizations which have been declared by public authorities to be subversive, and by private publications in 316 instances, and that practically none of those persons, to date, has seen fit to *deny* the accuracy of the facts reported. *Counterattack* follows an identical policy.

Since the second part of the quoted conditional sentence is false, Mr. O'Neill should now frankly admit that "Mr. Miller's book is almost totally fraudulent."

He should also reconsider his charge that *Red Channels* has made "unexamined and unsupported charges," and his contradictory criticisms, first, that we have been self-appointed judges, and second, that we "do not distinguish between the dupers and the duped." If we did not "distinguish between the dupers and the duped" (for which Mr. O'Neill condemns us) then we cannot be self-appointed judges, for which he also condemns us, for it is a judge's duty and privilege so to distinguish.

In closing, may I state that I am not attacking Mr. O'Neill's good faith, although by praising a book which expressly attacks our good faith, he has impliedly joined in that assault. The task of exposing Communist subversion which uses civil liberties as a means to destroy all liberty, soon teaches one that disclosure of objective truths of fact and act, rather than imputation of subjective intention or motive, is the one weapon which the Communist conspiracy fears the most.

JOHN G. KEENAN
President, *Counterattack.*

MR. O'NEILL REPLIES

Lakeville, Conn.

TO the Editors: I have carefully considered Mr. Keenan's reply to my review of *The Judges and the Judged,* and I am glad to have a chance to comment.

Unless Mr. Keenan is using the phrase "deprived of his livelihood" in a highly restricted sense, I do not know just what he means in his third paragraph. The first two chapters of *The Judges and the Judged* deal almost exclusively with instances of lost jobs, decreased work, and failure of re-employment—with no *proof* of any act of disloyalty; no confrontation with accusers; no cross-examination and rebuttal opportunities.

The book's basic purpose is not given as Mr. Keenan reports it. The statement he quotes is a single sentence from number two of a list of five numbered "main views of the American Civil Liberties Union on the range of problems covered by Mr. Miller". This is from the Introduction by Ernest Angell and Patrick Malin. The purpose of the book is given by Mr. Miller on page 31: "The purpose of this report is quite simple. The American Civil Liberties Union wanted to find out the facts" in regard to possible black-lists, left-

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wing or right-wing, the use made of them, and "what, if anything, can be done?"

The "danger and injury" which Mr. Keenan mentions a number of times seems clearly assumed in many, if not in all, cases (see the cases in the first two chapters). When, where, by whom, under what auspices, the danger and injury was proved is simply not given.

My reference to the use of "academic freedom," "civil rights" etc., as "current Communist goals" is based on the passage quoted by Miller, on p. 122, from Hartnett's introduction to *Red Channels*.

The failure of *Red Channels* and *Counterattack* to distinguish between the "duper and the duped", or between the "current Communist propagandist and the reformed juvenile enthusiast", and even between the Communist and the Non-Communist, is given by Miller on pp. 113-114, 100, and in many individual cases reported in the first two chapters.

"Anonymous reports of Communist sympathy" still seems a fair and accurate summarizing statement of the material given in Mr. Miller's book on p. 127, frequently in Chapter 10, and in Chapters 1 and 2. It also appears to be substantiated by Mr. Keenan's letter: "1080 references to official government reports", "316 references to private publications", "116 of these 128 organizations and activities were declared subversive by governmental reports and 8 by private publications"; "19 publications as subversive, 18 of them governmentally reported and 1 privately reported". *On what evidence, given by whom, under what conditions?* The total absence of answers to this triple question, is the crux of the whole matter. What are our laws and courts for? Can we no longer function according to our constitutions, our laws, our basic principles of democracy —innocent until proved guilty, open trial, and the other decencies of a free society? If it is all right to scrap these tenets of justice, why were similar procedures wrong for the old Vigilantes and the Ku Klux Klan?

I admit to carelessness in saying "those quotations" when referring to a sentence in which my words were "all the quotations". In the second sentence I should have said "most of these quotations". I was much impressed by Mr. Pitzele's objection (in his review of Miller in *The New Leader*) to the ACLU's relying on any anonymous material. However, on re-reading Mr. Miller's explanation of this course in the case of many of the persons quoted, I felt that he had reasons that doubtless seemed good to him. Probably it would have been better to mention names, but the failure to do so does not mean, I submit, that we must disregard all material so presented.

My confident assumption that Mr. Miller did his job well is increased by the nature of Mr. Keenan's comment. The difference between Mr. Miller's book and Mr. Blanshard's is extreme. Mr. Blanshard's book exemplifies in every chapter, and on almost every page, clear misrepresentation, shabby scholarship, and invalid argument; all this is evident to anyone who has elementary knowledge of Catholicism, the requirements of scholarship, and the nature of sound argument. Maybe Mr. Miller's book is "totally fraudulent"; but I still hold that the proof that it is fraudulent *is not in the book*. If the proof is in Mr. Keenan's files, I think he should present it in court and get the judgment to which he is entitled.

JAMES M. O'NEILL.

FAMINE IN KOREA

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Thanks to The Commonweal's fine editorial on Korea (June 13th issue) and its appeal on behalf of refugees suffering from the present rice famine, War Relief Services, N.C.W.C. (350 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y.) received to date $1,352.84 from your generous readers. This money has already been forwarded to Pusan for the purchase of food to be distributed in the neediest areas. We are sure that this generosity will be remembered in the prayers of Korea's homeless people.

Their help is all the more appreciated since subsequent reports tell us that the drastic food shortage in Korea is increasing! A letter received from the Maryknoll Clinic, Pusan, last week says: "You cannot begin to imagine the conditions here, with rice $60 a bag (which means a little over a bushel)! I have just stripped our charity funds by paying $1500 for twenty bags of rice and ten bags of barley, to try to help at least the most desperate ones."

In the face of this emergency we thought you would be kind enough to tell your readers of a new Korean "Adopt-a-Family" program which has just been set up through War Relief Services-NCWC with cooperation of the National Council of Catholic Women. Just this week the details were worked out in New York by members of the U.S. Catholic groups with Msgr. George Carroll, Korean representative of War Relief Services-NCWC and Sister Mary Mercy, Physician-Director of the Maryknoll Clinic. Both Msgr. Carroll and Sister Mary Mercy are in the United States for a short visit to discuss relief programs for Korea. On the Korean side the "Adopt-a-Family" plan will be administered through the Maryknoll Sisters' Clinic of Pusan (Korea's largest civilian clinic aiding 40,000 refugees a month) and the Women's Sodality Union. Through this program food packages (costing $5 each) will be made up in Korea and will provide refugees with vitally needed foods.

We will welcome the cooperation of as many of your readers as possible who may be able to join us in this "Adopt-a-Family" program.

(RT. REV. MSGR.) EDWARD E. SWANSTROM.

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Toward Christian Unity

H. A. REINHOLD

IN *One Shepherd* (*Kenedy. $2*) Father Charles Boyer, S.J., a Frenchman by birth, now professor at the famous Gregorian University in Rome, has given Catholics a clear, concise statement that has the added advantage of being readable. Anyone interested in the healing of the wounds on Christ's Mystical Body, the Church, which have been inflicted by blindness, pride and lack of charity, will note in Father Boyer's little book its all-pervading spirit of charity and piety.

The author sketches the history of the two major clefts in Christian unity, the old Eastern schism and the break in Western Christendom that has been gaping as an open sore since the days of Luther. Even though his historical chapters are short, they manage to correct some of the accepted versions of these calamities and show them in other than a black and white pattern. Father Boyer shows us the historical complexity of schism and heresy. Those who like to fix the blame in a neat and decisive fashion and to toss a few historic names like Photius and Michael Caerularius around will not be too happy when Father Boyer asks them, now that "the dust has settled," to see that it covered a few areas on both sides.

For all his charity, Father Boyer is unable to announce any changes in Rome's attitude. Christian reunion still clearly means submission to the Apostolic See. We might wish the author would elaborate in greater detail what this really means, since many aspects of Roman Catholicism are composites of things that have grown as particular features of the Western Patriarchate, of the Pope's being Primate of Italy, or other local and historical ingredients.

Rome on the whole jealously protects the peculiarities of the Eastern churches, where they are historical growths: their liturgies, language, married clergy, way of appointing bishops, devotions, in short, their discipline. Protestants often seem to forget the amplitude of the Roman mind. Rome cheerfully accepts established rights and respects local traditions of ancient vintage. Does the average American, for instance, realize that in Switzerland Bishops are elected by the members of Cathedral chapters and that these chapters are made up of the senior priests representing the deaneries of the diocese? I have no qualms at all about saying publicly that in the case of any dissident church with four hundred years of tradition, once orthodoxy and apostolic succession have been assured, the rest is easy.

THE Dominican Yves Congar in his masterpiece *True and False Reform in the Church* (now being translated into English by the former president of Portland University) has discovered the concept of *"resourcement,"* i.e., elucidation and renewed analysis of doctrine and its formulation in the light of its "source," its beginning, its oldest meaning, its history, its buffeting by heresies, the partial shifting of its emphasis due to popular conceptions and the pressure of popular belief. Often this *resourcement* consists in a simple confrontation of a widespread and popular interpretation with the actual definition of the Church. By going back together, each denomination on its own path, to the original fork of the road where the break occurred—and then by looking along the undivided road as it extends back to the age of the Fathers and the distant days of martyrs and apostles—we perceive surprising, consoling and unifying vistas spread before our minds. In most cases the hard-looking crust melts away. New insights into the true nature of the Church's doctrine convince the dissenters that there is "more sense than I expected" in the Catholic tradition. Here seems to be a method which Father Boyer has hardly explored.

In the almost hopeless picture which has so depressed Christians as to let them despair of reunion in a body and which therefore has hardened them into proselytizing to the exclusion of all other aspects, he feels that the gate has been opened a bit by this consideration: all Eastern churches seem to be aware that by this terrible schism their Churches are no longer "ecumenical," therefore that they cannot act "ecumenically," either by their heads, or by ecumenical councils, or by the ordinary *magisterium*.

If they admit this, they admit something vital and essential: that their reluctance to accept any dogmatic developments after the last ecumenical council has nothing to do with orthodoxy, but is a matter of discipline. If one day they could admit the Roman See is the source and seat of ecumenicity, the doctrines defined by Rome since the schism (since they are contained implicitly in their own treasure house of revealed truths) could be accepted without humiliation.

The very awareness of their own church as the "incomplete calling for completeness" constitutes so great a step that all who have been calling across the chasm feel a new and warming hope. There is a world of difference between the sense of self-sufficiency and autonomous corporate completeness in body and this new one of claiming to be reintegrated. The difference in attitudes between Eastern and Western Chris-

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tians is too real to be denied, and Rome has learned not to demand monolithic uniformity.

THE bitterness between Catholics and Protestants brought on by history has estranged them so far that even the most sanguine optimist can see the wound healed only by a great miracle. Even our language leads to more misunderstanding. Take the word "bigot." Catholics rub their eyes when they are called bigots by Protestants—what with the history of the APA, the Know-Nothing movement, the Blanshard swindle and the present goings-on by the POAU. Catholics are sometimes called bigots because they insist on such things as the promises made in mixed marriages, because they refuse to compromise on the question of interdenominational services, because they frown on divorce, keep the Friday abstinence, and will not go on scout patrols on Sundays so as not to miss Mass. In other words in many Protestant eyes Catholics are bigots because of Catholic discipline, belief, apparent and actual exclusiveness.

When a Catholic says a Protestant is bigoted, or that a minister spreads bigotry, or that an organization leads to bigotry, he means something else again. To us Catholics a Protestant bigot is not an exclusive Protestant, nor a Protestant opposed to the Catholic Church, but one who nurtures suspicion, smears Catholics, misrepresents them, discriminates against them and, if he is a minister, keeps hatreds, suspicions and hard feelings alive by calling on speakers who malign *his* separated brethren, i. e., us Catholics. To circulate Blanshard's books is certainly not going to help establish love for your Catholic neighbor. Nor is the constant stream of pamphlets and Protestant missionaries from Catholic countries, depicting the worst aspects of these countries as genuine Catholicism, going to help. It is hard for any Catholic to understand the fiery zeal to Christianize the Christians of South America while our own deep South, our great cities, and our industrial and agricultural wastes cry for such talent and fervor. A simple reflection on the word "bigot" shows where the work for reunion ought to begin, ought to have begun long ago, especially when such high claims are made for purity of intention and truly evangelical spirit.

I am not trying to write my fellow Catholics a clean bill of health. There are Catholic bigots in the bitter sense of the word: Jew baiters, racists, maligners of Protestants, belittlers of the earnest Christian spirit in other sects and churches. We have more of them than is healthy, but that is not the point. My objection is raised against using the term "bigot" where no bigotry is involved, as is done in the infamous "classics" of Paul Blanshard.

A semantic cleanup of our language, on both sides, is the first step to peace. And this action should begin in the high places. This is said with an eye on the facts revealed by James M. O'Neill in his answer to Blanshard, where he shows that ten very prominent scholars and clergymen endorsed a book as competent, accurate, scholarly, fair, charitable and factual which is thoroughly incompetent, inaccurate, un-scholarly, unfair, hateful and in many instances a wilful distortion of facts. The names involved are a painful surprise and show that a general "anti-Catholicism" has poisoned otherwise just, kindly and studious men.

THE things unsaid in books like Boyer's are the ones that stir in our minds. The smugness of so many of us Catholics as the guardians of revealed truth, that cocksureness (visible in many an ignorant Catholic) that we have all the answers, the attitude that anyone who reads a penny catechism and does not forthwith join the Church is either a fool or a knave, are hateful but seldom deplored. These attitudes are an insult to the outsider, as is the complete lack of sympathy for the eternal "searcher for truth," the intellectual who comes up to the gates of the Church and then, after peeking or gazing inside, turns away sadly. The reluctance to enter is often interpreted in a strange fashion by many of us inside. But are the features of Jesus Christ, of Peter, of the Saints really so clearly stamped on Catholic life, or on Catholic authority, as to force themselves like lucid conclusions on honest and sincere seekers?

Out of the dozen items on my own list where the *vulgar* version of our life bears the marks of slovenliness, incongruency, commercialism and lack of dignity and charity, let us take the miserableness of our divine worship in many places.

It is obvious that it is hard even for the average Catholic to establish a visual or sensible relation between a low Mass and its original: the Lord's supper or Calvary, to name both references. The intimate banquet disappeared in the early days as the *agape* went out; the chalice became obsolete about five hundred years ago; the foreignness of tongue, music and vestment gradually came in during the break-up of antiquity; the ceremonial altar replaced the table; the priest turned away from the people to the presence of God a thousand years ago, and silence took over where once words conveyed in their subtle but unfailing way the presence of sacrifice and banquet with God, foreshadowing the heavenly court.

If this is now all in the state of fossilized rite, "deep frozen" by the fiat of law, how shall a seeker grasp its meaning, especially when he is confronted with our silent, ignorant, impassive and atomized congregations of monads vaguely communing with the Great Monad or their subconscious selves? Add the claptrap of announcements and collections, the pompous or

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maudlin style of decoration—then why are you surprised that disappointed men go away to dig in other acres? Should we not be more surprised by the fact that so many seem to be able to grasp what we mean by our inarticulate and perfunctory gestures, our muttered formulas and bewildering silence? Does the majestic and beautiful pomp of a pontifical solemnity convey to the onlooker anything but strange mystery and ritualistic éclat?

This malaise, which the average Catholic feels but dares not word, from a mistaken sense of loyalty, transfers itself to outsiders and affects all relations profoundly. Add to this what was said above about Catholic smugness and the crass carry-overs of misjudgment recently enumerated in The Commonweal by the irenic and just Canon Iddings Bell and it will be evident that we who are in the apostolic succession, we who have not committed *"haireses"* on the deposit of faith, who have preserved physical union with the Body of Christ and rather borne the cross of traditions than committed the sin of schism, must not only try to show understanding to others outside before we even speak of their return to Mother Church, but become active collaborators of the Holy See, which now as never before gazes about for suitable reforms and adjustments.

It is a scandal and a shame that the masses and their clerics have given the wait-and-see treatment to so courageous and generous a movement as the reform of the Easter Vigil by our present Pontiff, which, seen in the pattern of his recent efforts, could have led to a spiritual renewal affecting the present drabness, the spiritless routine of our communal worship, for one thing. The same applies to the social program, to Catholic Action, to the Confraternity work and other aspects.

FATHER Boyer's excellent little book leaves wide open the great question, which Father Congar gradually approaches: What is the meaning of these schisms? Do these cracks in the temple of God confirm the seeker's suspicion that all Revelation is relative and the absolute truth unknown, that St. Paul's "dark mirror" and "seeing face to face" are not only a metaphor of individual faith, but apply to Revelation too? Can we safeguard the absolute claims of the Church—divine Founder, apostolic succession, Catholicity of doctrine, of space and of time—and still leave room for the positive significance of separated churches, of sects, even of *"logoi spermatikoi"* (scattered seeds of truth) in the great world religions and their substitutes, down to the distorted and frightening "last Christian heresy" of Marxism?

As Catholics we are claiming the "HOLON", the whole, we are tending toward it. That is why we call ourselves "KAT-HOL-IKOI"—Catholics. Our attitude is affirmative, receptive, not exclusive and sectarian. We have tried to digest Plato and Aristotle, Hebrew and Hellenic, Roman, Germanic and Celtic cultures. At present we are straining to chew, in small bits alas, Oriental philosophies and religions, as well as the new industrial "mystique" in its two halves, locked in the death struggle of the day. Could we ever see meaningful, positive significance in Mohammed as the bringer of a message, i.e. of the oneness and majesty of God or the "inner-worldliness" of religion? Could we ever find a positive message for us Catholics in Luther, Calvin, Fox, Wesley, Kierkegaard, Barth and down to the bitter zeal of small sects with their effort to rediscover "pure" evangelism? Isn't it a puzzling fact that after Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominic and, belatedly, Ignatius Loyola—saints all of them and loyal and obedient—all "evangelism" of any significance and beyond the personal sphere has been outside the fold? Aren't these often narrow, bigoted, irritating, and more often, uncharitable scorners and spiteful seekers, meant to be something to us who are safe under the right shepherd?

India shows in her "hinduization" of sublime thought what happened to Brahmanism, Buddhism and even their reforms. In the hands of man "all is seared with trade; bleared, smeared with toil; and wears man's smudge and shares man's smell." I need not go into this: our harshest critics have found their classic in Dostoievski's *Grand Inquisitor*.

Fathers Congar, Adam Lortz, and Boyer, and the latter's little booklet may help us Catholics to develop a new sensitivity which would become the secure—by Grace—the unshaken; they may inspire a new tact and willingness to listen. As Father Boyer points out, we ought to engage in a dialogue, in which both listen to each other, after praying together. Chest thumping, shouting and berating will help no one. While it is proper for the successor of Peter to admonish all and speak in the tone of authority, to be gentle but unyielding in essentials, no one else in his flock shares this majesty.

The Eastern Orthodox preservation of an attitude, long lost in the West, as well as the Protestant search for the essential hidden under the garment of tradition, should not be completely wasted on us. Our Catholicity may in God's plan need these forces for our own health and we may one day see that the Spirit "bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth," to use the King James version.

Balaam's ass and Cyrus of Persia were instruments of prophecy for the chosen people. Should we then say that neither the Eastern nor the dissident Western Christian has any task in the Kingdom of God for His chosen ones?

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The Little Poor Man: His Life and Times

THE PERFECT JOY OF ST. FRANCIS. By Felix Timmermans. Translated from the Flemish by Raphael Brown. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50.

By THEODORE MAYNARD

OF all the saints of the Church there is little doubt that Francis of Assisi is the one most attractive to every class of people—including not only Protestants, who seem to regard him as one of their own born out of due time, and those of any kind of Christian belief, but also those of no religious belief at all. In general this is all to the good as it is a revelation of the good in his admirers—when it is not mere sentimentality. In the cases where it *is* sentimentality—and there are many such cases—it only obscures the real nature of a man who, whatever his charm and his gaiety and his good-will, was not at all sentimental.

Paul Sabatier, so I am told, towards the end of his life held the opinion that Francis was even greater than Christ; if he really believed this one can only wonder what can be the worth to Sabatier himself of those studies which it must be granted initiated the immense body of modern Franciscan scholarship. But probably it was not true, or was no more than a chance remark tossed over the left shoulder, not intended to be taken too seriously. The life of Francis would have had no meaning, and would indeed never have been lived, had it not been for his love of Christ.

The life of any great man told in the form of fiction is almost always distressing to those who prefer to take their biography straight, and St. Francis has previously suffered in this way. But if it had to be done, Felix Timmermans was the man for the job; one hears that in Europe, where this book first appeared in 1931, it has sold over half a million copies. In the colophon he appends to his novel he says with disarming simplicity: "That is the way I visualized these events after I had read the books which the scholars have written about his beautiful life. I saw the scenes unfold that way."

Though I began to read with some suspicion, and perhaps even some prejudice, I can say now that the story has not been tampered with to any serious extent. Timmermans has used a novelist's privilege with regard to the Franciscan chronology (which in any event cannot always be considered as certain) and he glides around or over controversial matters, but with remarkable skill and without any falsification, and nothing of vital importance has been omitted. It goes without saying that with such an abundance of material available it was not necessary to invent anything; and one may credit Felix Timmermans with the good

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taste of avoiding such an outrage.

Timmermans is in fact a poet—a poet even more than a novelist—and there is a limpid lyricism in his presentation of the Saint. What emerges is a prose poem, one that is free from most of the defects of that sort of literary production.

The Perfect Joy of St. Francis is so beautiful a work of art as almost to reconcile me to accept it in place of a scholarly study in which sources are investigated and problems formally weighed. After all, though the scholarship is not allowed to appear, it underlies everything. This may well come to be the book by which St. Francis will be best known to the mass of readers.

Men Lost

THE ABYSS: By Manes Sperber. Translated from the German by Constantine Fitzgibbon. Doubleday, $3.75.

By PHILIP DRISCOLL

THIS is an interesting and a curiously disappointing book. The theme is pertinent and significant; the story is authentic and at times almost moving; the writing is precise and occasionally distinguished. And yet the book is not really successful. It promises much, but the promises are never realized.

The Abyss is the second part of a trilogy concerned with disillusioned European intellectuals. At the begin- is the story of Doino Faber, a Yugoslav and former Communist, who finds himself equally opposed to Stalinism and Hitlerism after the German occupation of Austria, with which the novel begins. With the guidance of his old friend Professor Stetten, he escapes from Vienna to Paris where he ends up as a volunteer in the French army after the Allies' declaration of war in September, 1939. There, increasing despair settles like a heavy fog, and it is only in the last pages of the book that the lonely and disillusioned soldier, now suicidal, is saved from self-destruction. The cry of a child in need is the redemptive agent, the magnet which draws Faber slowly out of the abyss which is despair, and which helps him to begin again to ascend with the living. It is not triumphant, this ending, but neither is it without hope.

The greatest value of this novel, perhaps, is its intelligence. The author is an intellectual and an experienced man, and his discussions of the political issues of his time are obviously knowledgeable and carefully considered. His characters converse at length about themselves and the chaotic world in which they live —probing, analyzing, searching for the solutions to the terrible problems which Communism and Fascism present. Stetten is the man of humanistic faith and principle, and Faber is the disillusioned; and as they talk together we get a clear and sometimes eloquent definition of the intellectual and liberal dilemma of our time.

We also get a picture of other points of view, of the intellectual traitors, the compromisers, the fascistic-minded, and of those who are spiritually weak or dead. But Sperber's real interest is in the uprooted, displaced, exiled politicals, those tor-

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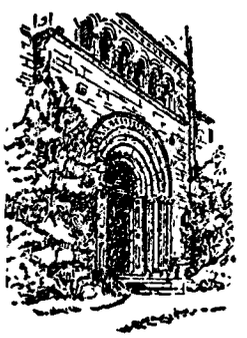

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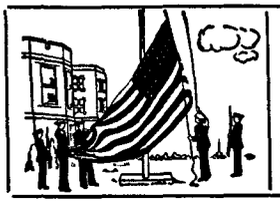

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mented men who roam the world alone—separated, for the most part, from home, from family, from state, longing for rest. In a few choice pages of the novel he describes with warmth and authority the lives of these exiles in Paris, where they lived, how they felt and thought and worked and hoped. His familiarity with Paris is evident, and his description of it is memorable.

There is not enough which is memorable in this novel, however, to make it a real achievement. The story and the larger theme—of isolation and spiritual desolation—could be genuinely moving, and handled by a more dramatically conscious novelist they would have been. But here we feel little. We are on the periphery of the characters' experience; we know what is happening to them, but we cannot share it. Their anguish and their despair are not ours. Faber's position is clearly articulated but it is not dramatized, and the result is an intellectually rewarding but emotionally unsatisfying book. *The Abyss* reads more like a Political Science textbook than a novel.

Though the lack of emotional conviction in the novel is the biggest disappointment, there are other weaknesses also. One of these is the author's handling of characters. Literally scores of people pass through these pages, but for the most part they pass too quickly. They never stay before us long enough to register their identities completely, and that is frustrating and even irritating. Often they are people whom Faber knows well but the uninitiated reader is not always sure just how well, or what the relationship is. Meeting them here is not unlike coming late to a party, which is already in full force, where everyone but you knows everyone else; hasty introductions and even hastier briefings are made; you try to get on the right train of thought; but the conversation soon races ahead, and you are lost on a siding somewhere. It is an uncomfortable experience in life; in the world of fiction it is worse than that.

Finally, a word must be said about the author's style. It is never easy to criticize a work in translation for the obvious reason that often

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the original and the translated versions are practically different works. What one may have in abundance, the other may lack completely. The rhythm of a language, its cadence when spoken, the idioms and colloquialisms which give it richness, all of these can easily be marred or obscured when one attempts to put the thought and feeling of the original into alien words. And that would seem to be the case here.

Although the English used is correct—possibly too correct at times—it doesn't ring true. The dialogue is stilted and even artificial, and the descriptive and reflective passages are too formal. The author's (or the translator's) lack of ease in handling the language, colloquially or dramatically, is suggested on the contents page. He has selected as a kind of continuing epigraph for the three main divisions of the novel the familiar lines from Macbeth's dark soliloquy, but he has broken them up ineptly: "All our yesterdays/ have lighted fools the way/ to dusty death."

Christian Emperor

THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harper. $2.50.

By PHILIP BURNHAM

MISS Sayers has written a "dramatic chronicle" to celebrate the city of Colchester, England, where Saint Helena, Constantine's mother, is thought to have been born. It is an heroic tragedy and a religious drama of large dimensions, which was produced as a play during last year's Festival of Britain. The drama has a formality, an intellectual and even a liturgical quality appropriate for its public and civic purpose, but the author has developed also from the scanty and institutional historical sources and from her own comprehension and sympathy, the convincing and living characters of Constantine and his entourage to embody tragedy as well as teach lessons.

In her Preface, the author states the two themes which the play pursues: "The first Christian Emperor was thus, in the economy of Providence, the instrument whereby Christendom was brought face to face with two problems which have not yet found their full resolution: the exterior relations between Church and State; the interior relation between orthodox and heretic within the Church." (It must be rather Protestant Anglican to place the heretic and orthodox in the category of *interior* Church problem.)

The second theme is personal, concerning Constantine's "consistently developing apprehension of Christ. There is the Christ known to the pagan world, one god among many, worshipped by an increasingly numerous sect whose sober and disciplined life made it a valuable element in the State; there is Christ the Lord of Hosts, the powerful patron-deity of His Imperial Vicar; there is, later on, the Christ of the theologians, True God begotten of True God, the Holy and the One; there is, perhaps, in the end of all, Christ the Redeemer, sacrificed upon the wood of the Cross for the sins of man—and of Constantine."

The play requires during its early scenes some rather dry exposition in order to line up the complex political and military situation which followed Diocletian's retirement and to identify the people of the Empire and Church who were to create the new reign. But by the third and final act, a double climax is reached in which the mechanics of technique and logical exposition are taken up and well covered in the human drama and natural human interest.

The pre-climax is the Council of Nicea. This great ecclesiastical Council which issued to the world the lasting Creed of the Church and which condemned the Arians is, of course, streamlined and simplified but excellently rendered. Miss Sayers has written it into a colorful and witty, and also serious and intelligent pageant of a half dozen scenes, with Athanasius the hero and Arius the villain. (The papal representatives, Vincent and Victor, are presented almost as wayfarers at Nicea, and the adoption of the Roman formula for the Creed, as a kind of coincidence.) Then, after the Council, the climax itself is murder: more of a classic Greek murder than those Dorothy Sayers committed so well during her earlier career as detective novelist. The murdered man is Crispus, the beloved and able son of the Emperor, but it is harder to name the hero and the villain, or, indeed, the ultimate victim.

Constantine had the killing done on the false information of his wife Fausta, who accused the youth of an incestuous attempt upon herself. In the presentation of the entire crime, the author injects more than a little Destiny into her observed "economy of Providence."

Fausta, urged by her evil companion, is an instrument of her own passionate character, and is also a representative of all the people and forces, including the dethroned pagan deities, opposed to the Emperor all along his long route to universal power. Constantine is at once the "instrument" of his own past violence and shallowness of character, and also a victim to teach and be taught sin and the Redemption from sin. The pattern is doubtless oversimplified for whole history. Opposition to Constantine would not necessarily be wicked. There is too small hint in the play that Constantine's matchlessly ambitious career, which led to the foundation of the autocratic Byzantium of the Emperor-Popes, constituted another kind of problem. It was a personal problem of conscience that might well lead to individual trouble, and it was a Church problem which freer Christians and the Bishop of Rome would have to fight for many centuries.

Aided by Saint Helena, speaking beautifully as a Christian chorus, Constantine at length knows sin, and begins the understanding of God . . . "The blood I had shed was God's blood. But I now accept that most terrible truth as the sole hope of salvation." The first Christian Emperor is ready for Baptism and for death.

REVIEWERS

Theodore Maynard has written widely on the Saints. His most recent book is *Saints for Our Times*.

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